

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T GENEVA 6947

EXDIS/USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: HIGHLIGHTS, POST-PLENARY CONVERSATION, AUGUST 9, 1977
(SALT TWO - 1335)

1. (GLENN - ROWNY/SHCHUKIN - BELETSKY, A-1707)
VERIFICATION/NTMS

GLENN EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE VERIFICATION WOULD PLAY DURING
SENATE RATIFICATION PROCESS, SAYING HE WAS NOT SURE NTM COULD
DO THE JOB, ESPECIALLY SINCE HE HAD FORMED THE IMPRESSION
SIDES HAD NOT DEFINED WHAT CONSTITUTES NTM. SHCHUKIN SAID HE
BELIEVED THERE WAS NO REASON TO DEFINE NTM, SINCE IF WE
TRIED TO DEFINE SUCH THINGS SIDES WOULD BE NEGOTIATING FOR-
EVER. SHCHUKIN ADMITTED SOVIET SIDE HAD GREAT DEAL MORE
ACCESS TO OPEN LITERATURE, AND BELETSKY STATED SOVIETS
RELY SOLEY ON NTM FOR VERIFICATION AND ONLY USE OPEN LITERA-
TURE TO CHECK NTM. GLENN CITED GROWING COMPLEXITY OF SALT
PROCESS, AND ASKED HOW ONE WOULD VERIFY CRUISE MISSILES,
WHETHER A BOMBER COULD BE REFUELED, WHETHER A SILO HAD A
MISSILE IN IT, WHETHER THAT MISSILE WAS MIRVED OR NOT, AND
WHETHER THE GUIDANCE SYSTEM OF THAT MISSILE HAD BEEN CHANGED.
SHCHUKIN REPLIED THAT SOME OF THE QUESTIONS GLENN RAISED

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DID NOT APPLY TO THE NEW AGREEMENT AND THAT VERIFICATION
WAS NOT A MATTER OF TAKING A ONE TIME "PICTURE" BUT SUM
TOTAL OF SERIES OF OBSERVATIONS OVER A PERIOD OF TIME. GLENN
ASKED IF A SIDE RELIED ON TELEMETRY FOR ITS NTM AND OTHER
SIDE DENIED SUCH TELEMETRY, WOULD THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREE-
MENT PROHIBIT THIS DENIAL. SHCHUKIN ANSWERED THE QUESTION
IN THE CONTEXT OF COMMERCIAL COMMUNICATION SATELLITES

WHICH CODE THEIR TRANSMISSION, STATING WHETHER OR NOT SIDES CHOSE TO READ THE OTHERS TELEMETRY WAS OWN AFFAIR, HOWEVER, WHETHER OR NOT A SIDE CHOSE TO CODE ITS TELEMETRY WAS AN INTERNAL MATTER AS WAS THE MATTER OF WHETHER TO DENY IT ENTIRELY TO OTHERS.

2. (KLOSSON-MCNEILL/KARPOV-SMOLIN, A-1711)

MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS

KLOSSON STATED UNDERSTANDING THAT DEFINITION OF ICBM LAUNCHER IN ARTICLE II.1 COVERED BOTH FIXED AND MOBILE LAUNCHERS. KARPOV ACKNOWLEDGED THAT WAS SO, SINCE THE DEFINITION HAS AN "UNIVERSAL MEANING". KLOSSON THEN QUESTIONED THE SOVIET INSERTION OF THE WORD "FIXED" IN ARTICLE IV.5, POINTED OUT APPARENT CONTRADICTION, AND ASKED WHAT SOVIET DELEGATION INTENDED TO DO. KARPOV REPLIED THE WORD "FIXED" SHOULD REMAIN IN THE JDT.

3. (WHITMAN/PAVLICHENKO, A-1706)

REDUCTIONS/MOBILE ICBM

WHITMAN PROBED MEANING FROM SOVIET STATEMENT WHEREIN TESTING OF MOBILE ICBMS, IF NOT BANNED, "COULD POTENTIALLY CREATE PREREQUISITES FOR EXCEEDING THE LEVELS PROVIDED FOR BY THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING". PAVLICHENKO RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS A REFERENCE TO MX IN THE SHELTER TRENCH MODE. WHEN WHITMAN CRITICIZED SIZE OF SOVIET REDUCTION PROPOSAL AND FAILURE TO ADDRESS MIRV REDUCTIONS, PAVLICHENKO REPLIED

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THAT US PROPOSED CUTS WERE TOKENISM, THAT USSR READY, IN SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS, TO MAKE GENUINE CUTS IN THE MIRV AGGREGATE, BUT ONLY IN CONJUNCTION WITH HANDLING OF OTHER ASYMMETRIES FAVORING US: LIMITS ON ACCURACY, EQUAL NUMBERS OF WARHEADS AND FBS.

4. (RUBENS-ELDREDGE/BEKETOV-JOURAVELEV, A-1708)

MOBILE ICBM TESTING

ELDREDGE DESCRIBED TESTING SEQUENCE FROM LABORATORY THROUGH ALL-UP SYSTEM FLIGHT TESTS. BEKETOV AND JOURAVLEV AGREED THAT PERSONALLY THEY FELT BANNING FLIGHT TESTING WAS THE AREA OF SOVIET INTEREST WITH REGARD TO SOVIET MOBILE ICBM PROVISION. EARLE

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